

SECRECY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

REMARKS BY
ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

12 AUGUST 1977
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
BEVERLY WILSHIRE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

I AM VERY GRATEFUL THAT SO MANY OF YOU HAVE COME HERE TODAY TO HEAR SOMETHING ABOUT OUR NATION'S INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES AND EFFORTS. THIS IS AN EXCITING TIME IN AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. WE ARE, IN EFFECT, TODAY CREATING A NEW MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE, AN AMERICAN MODEL, UNIQUE TO OUR COUNTRY AND ITS VALUES.

THIS MODEL HAS BEEN FORGED OVER THE PAST 2-3 YEARS IN THE CRUCIBLE OF PUBLIC EXAMINATION OF OUR INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS. OUT OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS AND EXPOSURES IN THE NEWS MEDIA, HAVE COME SOME IMPORTANT PRESSURES TO MODIFY THE OLD HABITS OF INTELLIGENCE. THOSE HABITS, IN FACT, DERIVE LARGELY FROM OUR CLOSE FRIENDS, THE BRITISH.

THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS AN EXTREMELY SECRETIVE ORGANIZATION. IT

- O IS NOT RECOGNIZED IN COMMON LAW;
- O IS NOT ESTABLISHED BY STATUTE;
- O IS NOT SUBJECT TO DEBATE - EVEN IN GENERAL TERMS - IN PARLIAMENT - EITHER ON THE FLOOR IN PUBLIC OR IN COMMITTEE IN PRIVATE.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THIS SECRECY IS ACCOMPLISHED LARGELY THROUGH THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT WHICH, ALTHOUGH, OSTENSIBLY DESIGNED TO PREVENT ESPIONAGE IS, IN FACT, AIMED INWARD AS A POWERFUL INTERNAL RESTRAINT AGAINST THE LEAKAGE OF OFFICIAL SECRET INFORMATION.

UNDER THE ACT, ANY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE, CIVILIAN OR CONTRACTOR, WITH ACCESS TO CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION CAN BE SENT TO PRISON FOR DIVULGING ANY "OFFICIAL SECRET".

NO MEMBER OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CAN BE REQUIRED TO APPEAR BEFORE PARLIAMENT BECAUSE HE COULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO COMMENT ON OFFICIAL SECRETS; PUBLIC INVESTIGATION IS UNHEARD OF; RESEARCH, EVEN ON THE PAST RECORD OF INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, IS IMPOSSIBLE SIMPLY BECAUSE ACCESS TO OFFICIAL FILES IS DENIED.

NOW CONTRAST THESE GROUND RULES WITH JUST FOUR EVENTS IN MY RECENT EXPERIENCE:

- O 10 DAYS AGO I VOLUNTARILY TESTIFIED BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, MEETING IN OPEN SESSION, ON SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE CIA-SPONSORED DRUG RESEARCH CARRIED ON WAY BACK IN THE 1950's AND EARLY 1960's.
- O THE NEXT DAY THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED PLANS TO REORGANIZE THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. HE DETAILED ITS VARIOUS COMPONENTS, THEIR FUNCTIONS, AND HOW THE PARTS WOULD INTERRELATE WITH ONE ANOTHER;
- O LAST TUESDAY, THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC A STUDY ON THE OUTLOOK FOR THE SOVIET ECONOMY WHICH THE CIA HAD DELIBERATELY PRODUCED IN UNCLASSIFIED FORM FOR THEM.
- O IN BETWEEN THESE THREE EVENTS I GAVE ONE PUBLIC SPEECH, AND PARTICIPATED IN THREE PRESS CONFERENCES AND ONE TV INTERVIEW.

THESE ACTIVITIES ILLUSTRATE HOW DIFFERENTLY OUR AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY OPERATES FROM THE BRITISH MODEL WHICH MOST OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN THE WORLD EMULATE. I KNOW OF NO OTHER INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS EVER REVEALED

HOW IT OPERATES, RELEASED SOME OF ITS WORK TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC, AND GIVEN ITSELF A BLACK EYE -- LET ALONE IN A SPAN OF 10 DAYS.

WHY ARE WE GOING ABOUT OUR BUSINESS IN THESE UNTRADITIONAL WAYS?

FIRST, BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN EXCESSES IN THE PAST. A DEGREE OF PUBLIC SCRUTINY IS ONE OF THE BEST SAFEGUARDS AGAINST REPETITION.

MORE THAN THAT, HOWEVER, OURS IS AN OPEN SOCIETY. THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTH OF OUR SOCIETY IS THE INFORMED CITIZEN WHO PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SHAPING HIS GOVERNMENT'S ACTIVITIES. LET ME DESCRIBE HOW EACH OF THESE FOUR EVENTS I HAVE MENTIONED WILL HELP TO PROMOTE A CITIZENRY THAT IS INFORMED ABOUT ITS SECRET INTELLIGENCE PROCESS.

FIRST, WHAT DOES IT MEAN WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER TELLS US THAT HE IS REORGANIZING THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO ENSURE GREATER EFFECTIVENESS AND CONTROL?

THE STRENGTHENING OF CONTROL HAS COME ABOUT BY GIVING TO MY OFFICE, THAT IS, THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, FULL AUTHORITY FOR THE BUDGETS OF THE VARIOUS INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS AND FULL AUTHORITY FOR SETTING THE TASKS FOR THESE ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO COLLECT INTELLIGENCE DATA. INTELLIGENCE, YOU SEE, IS LOCATED IN A NUMBER OF AGENCIES OF OUR GOVERNMENT, NOT JUST IN THE CIA: THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE FBI, TREASURY AND THE NEW ENERGY DEPARTMENT. ALL HAVE INTELLIGENCE ELEMENTS. I HAPPEN TO BE DIRECTOR OF ONE OF THESE INTELLIGENCE ENTITIES--CIA. IN MY OTHER JOB, THAT OF DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--MY RESPONSIBILITY IS TO GET ALL OF THE

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES PULLING TOGETHER. THE NEW ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS SECOND TASK THAT OF PULLING ALL OF THESE ACTIVITIES TOGETHER, ESPECIALLY WHEN COLLECTING INTELLIGENCE DATA. IN THE PROCESS OF COLLECTING WE WANT PARTICULARLY TO BE EFFICIENT AND IN FULL CONTROL. THIS IS THE MOST EXPENSIVE PART OF THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS AND THE MOST RISKY. BUT IT IS ONLY ONE HALF OF THE JOB. THE OTHER HALF WHICH HAS NO AURA OF MYSTERY, SPYING OR 007 IS RESEARCHING, ANALYZING AND INTERPRETING THE DATA WHICH IS COLLECTED. THE PRESIDENT'S NEW PROGRAM CREATES NO "TSAR" OF INTELLIGENCE INTERPRETATION. THE DEFENSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENTS WILL EACH CONTINUE TO HAVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT ANALYTICAL AGENCIES IN ADDITION TO THAT OF THE CIA. WE SEEK AND WELCOME DIVERGENT AND COMPETING IDEAS AND OPINION, FOR GOOD INTELLIGENCE DOES NOT COME BY REVELATION, IT ALWAYS IS SHROUDED IN UNCERTAINTY AND ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS.

NEXT, LET ME REFER BACK TO OUR VOLUNTARY DISCLOSURES ON THE DRUG RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE DISTANT PAST. THESE DISCLOSURES WERE AN EFFORT TO ENSURE THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY THAT ILLEGAL AND IMPROPER ACTIVITIES WILL NOT BE CONDONED IN THE NAME OF INTELLIGENCE. WHAT IS ILLEGAL CAN BE DESCRIBED BY LAW. WHAT IS IMPROPER IS MORE A MATTER OF JUDGEMENT, BUT THOSE OF US WHO MAKE THESE JUDGEMENTS MUST UNDERSTAND PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND MORES. WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN CONDONED YESTERDAY MAY BE CONDEMNED TODAY. THE DRUG-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE CIA WHICH I DESCRIBED TO THE

CONGRESS LAST WEEK WERE IN A DIFFERENT PERIOD, THAT OF 1953-1965, AND 12 TO 24 YEARS AGO OUTLOOKS AND ATTITUDES WERE DIFFERENT. WE HATE TO REHASH ERRORS OF THE PAST LIKE THIS, BUT WHAT HAPPENED IN THIS CASE, WAS THAT WE FOUND FINANCIAL DOCUMENTATION ON THIS SUBJECT IN OUR RETIRED RECORDS ARCHIVES WHICH HAD NOT BEEN LOCATED DURING CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS SEVERAL YEARS AGO. ON BEING INFORMED OF THIS, I FELT OBLIGED TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY. SOME OF THESE REVELATIONS CONCERN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA. I REGRET THIS, BUT ASSURE YOU THAT NOTHING OF THIS SORT IS BEING, OR WILL BE TOLERATED TODAY.

NEXT, WHY HAVE WE MADE EFFORTS TO BE MORE ACCESSIBLE TO THE MEDIA? THESE HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO LIFT SOME OF THE MYSTIQUE FROM INTELLIGENCE. TAKING MAGAZINE AND TV CAMERAS INTO OUR HEADQUARTERS BUILDING HAS LET THE PUBLIC KNOW THAT WE, TOO, ARE ORDINARY, DECENT PEOPLE WORKING IN THE SAME TYPE OF ENVIRONMENT AS DO MOST OF YOU.

FINALLY, THE PUBLICATION OF UNCLASSIFIED STUDIES IS ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT, SUBSTANTATIVE INITIATIVES TO INCLUDE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN OUR ACTIVITIES. IT STEMS FROM A CONVICTION THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS WORKING FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THAT THEY DESERVE A RETURN ON THEIR INVESTMENT BY SHARING OUR RESULTS WHENEVER THAT IS POSSIBLE.

TO DATE WE HAVE PUBLISHED SEVERAL MAJOR STUDIES WHICH I BELIEVE MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO PUBLIC DEBATE: THIS PAST MARCH WE PUBLISHED A REPORT ON THE WORLD ENERGY SITUATION

AND TWO SUBORDINATE STUDIES ON THE SOVIET AND CHINESE ENERGY PROSPECTS; AND NOW THIS STUDY I MENTIONED ON THE SOVIET ECONOMY. THIS REPORT COMES TO THE CONCLUSION THAT SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH WILL BEGIN TO SLOW IN THE EARLY 1980'S FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. ONE IS THAT THERE WILL BE AN INEVITABLE SHARP DROP IN THE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE SOVIET LABOR FORCE IN THE 1980'S. THIS WILL BE CAUSED BY A MARKED DECLINE IN BIRTH RATES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE 1960'S AND BECAUSE THE LARGEST ADDITIONS TO THE SOVIET LABOR FORCE WILL COME FROM ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA WHO DO NOT MIGRATE READILY TO INDUSTRIAL AREAS.

ALSO, ADDITIONS OF CAPITAL WILL BE REDUCED BECAUSE RAW MATERIALS WILL BECOME MORE EXPENSIVE; AND THERE IS A LOOMING OIL SHORTAGE AS PREDICTED IN OUR STUDY OF SOVIET ENERGY PROSPECTS. THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES ACKNOWLEDGE THESE FACTORS IN THEIR FIVE YEAR PLAN, BUT THEY ALSO PREDICT THAT THEIR TOTAL PRODUCTIVITY WILL GO UP. HISTORICALLY THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO KEEP PRODUCTIVITY MOVING UP, EVEN IN THE FACE OF INEFFICIENT CENTRAL MANAGEMENT AND FAULTY ECONOMIC THEORY, BUT THEY HAVE DONE SO ONLY BY PUMPING IN MORE AND MORE LABOR AND CAPITAL. WE BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE REACHED THE END OF THE LINE.

AS WE SEE IT, THE SOVIETS MUST FACE THE THREAT OF A DECLINING RATE OF GROWTH OR THE NECESSITY OF UNDERTAKING WHAT MAY BE DIFFICULT CORRECTIVE MEASURES.

CAN THEY CONTINUE TO EXPORT OIL TO THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN SATELLITES OR WILL THEY NEED TO SEND IT ELSEWHERE TO EARN HARD

CURRENCY?

IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC DECLINE WILL THEY TURN TO US AND OTHERS IN THE WEST FOR EXTENSIVE CREDITS?

WILL THEY CONTINUE TO CONSUME OIL AT THE SAME RATE, OR WILL THEY HAVE TO TURN TO A VIGOROUS CONSERVATION PROGRAM?

CAN THEY MEET THE INCREASING MANPOWER NEEDS OF THEIR INDUSTRY AND STILL MAINTAIN THEIR HUGE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT?

THESE ARE ONLY SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR FINDINGS. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THIS STUDY WILL CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE TO INFORMED PUBLIC DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE AND, AT THE SAME TIME, ENGAGE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH ITS INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

THUS FAR I HAVE SPOKEN OF ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN: OPENNESS. THE OTHER SIDE: SECRECY, IS IMPORTANT TOO. THE BRITISH, AFTER ALL, ARE NOT JUST BEING TRADITIONAL WHEN IT COMES TO SECRECY. AND THE AMERICAN MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE CAN NOT AND WILL NOT BE A COMPLETELY OPEN ONE. AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IS THE ABILITY TO PRESERVE SECRETS. SOME OF THE INFORMATION BEHIND BOTH THE SOVIET OIL AND ECONOMIC FORECASTS WAS DERIVED FROM SECRET SOURCES WHICH WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED IN THE FUTURE WERE WE TO REVEAL THEM.

WHEN NATIONS ARE AS CLOSELY BALANCED IN POWER AS THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, SECRECY ITSELF CONFERS ADVANTAGES. THE DOUBT IN AN ADVERSARY'S MIND IS A POWERFUL DETERRENT.

FOR EXAMPLE, WE WOULD BE AT A TREMENDOUS DISADVANTAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS IF THE SOVIET UNION

KNEW OUR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS IN ADVANCE. ANYONE WHO UNDERSTANDS BUSINESS COMPETITION, SUCH AS THE DEVELOPMENT AND MARKETING OF NEW PRODUCTS CAN UNDERSTAND THIS - THE GAME IS ACQUIRING AND HOLDING AND ADVANTAGE. AS LONG AS THE WORLD IS COMPETITIVE, OPPONENTS WILL ENDEAVOR TO KEEP EACH OTHER IN THE DARK. IF WE CAN NOT SHROUD OUR TRUE SECRETS WE WILL FIND OURSELVES AT A SEVERE DISADVANTAGE.

IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, OUR EDGE OF ADVANTAGE IS NOT GREAT, AND COULD BE NEGATED VERY EASILY IF THE WRONG INFORMATION FELL INTO THE HANDS OF POTENTIAL ENEMIES.

IN THE FIELD OF INTELLIGENCE IT IS THE SAME. AS WE RELY MORE ON TECHNOLOGY TO HELP US LEARN WHAT IS HAPPENING WORLD-WIDE, DEVELOPING AND DEPLOYING NEW INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS BECOMES INCREASINGLY EXPENSIVE. THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IS LARGELY DEPENDENT ON OUR ADVERSARIES BEING UNAWARE - OR NOT FULLY AWARE OF OUR CAPABILITIES, AND THEREFORE UNABLE TO ADEQUATELY COUNTER OUR INITIATIVES.

BUT WE DO NOT HAVE AN OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT AND IT IS CLEAR THAT SUCH AN ACT IS OUT OF THE QUESTION IN OUR COUNTRY. THEREFORE, WE MUST DISCIPLINE OURSELVES IN OTHER WAYS TO PROTECT VITAL INFORMATION. I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST APPROACH THIS FROM TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS AT ONCE.

ON THE ONE HAND WE CAN DECLASSIFY EVERY BIT OF INFORMATION WHICH NEED NOT BE KEPT SECRET. I HAVE MENTIONED A NUMBER OF OUR EFFORTS IN THAT DIRECTION. BY SUCH DECLASSIFICATION, OR RESTRAINTS ON INITIAL CLASSIFICATION, WE CAN GENERATE GREATER RESPECT FOR

THE INFORMATION WHICH MUST REMAIN SECRET.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE CAN AND MUST TIGHTEN SECURITY AROUND THE TRULY SENSITIVE INFORMATION ON WHICH MUCH MAY DEPEND. TODAY THERE ARE FAR TOO MANY LEAKS FROM WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE GIVING THIS INTENSE ATTENTION IN WASHINGTON. STOPPING LEAKS IS NEVER AN EASY PROBLEM; IT CAN DEMAND INORDINATE AMOUNTS OF EFFORT AND IT CAN CIRCUMSCRIBE THE DESIRABLE FLOW OF INFORMATION WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY. BY A COMBINATION OF THREAT AND PERSUASION WE MUST PREVENT THESE LEAKS BEFORE THEY OCCUR.

I AM ALSO VERY TROUBLED TODAY BY A DIFFERENT SECURITY PROBLEM WHICH IS OF MORE DIRECT CONCERN TO YOU WHO LIVE HERE IN ONE OF OUR GREAT CENTERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS. THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING HIGH STANDARDS OF SECURITY WITHIN INDUSTRY WERE DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATED RIGHT HERE IN LOS ANGELES JUST A FEW MONTHS AGO.

TWO YOUNG MEN, CHRISTOPHER BOYCE, AND A FRIEND ANDREW LEE SUCCEEDED IN STEALING AND THEN PASSING TO THE SOVIET UNION HUNDREDS OF CLASSIFIED ITEMS FROM A CONTRACTOR'S PLANT. THEY HAVE DONE SIGNIFICANT AND, IN SOME RESPECTS, IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE EFFORT. THE DOLLAR COST OF THEIR ACTIONS IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS BUT IT HAS WASTED TAX DOLLARS FROM EVERYONE OF US HERE. THESE IRRESPONSIBLE YOUNG MEN, WHOM THE JUDGE WHO SENTENCED THEM TERMED TRAITORS, HAVE GONE FAR TOWARD COMPROMISING MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR TECHNICAL SYSTEMS.

IMPORTANT WORK TO A HALT. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS.

BEYOND THAT, A COMPANY'S SECURITY RECORD AND OVERALL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SECURITY WILL PLAY A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE AWARDING OF INTELLIGENCE CONTRACTS IN THE FUTURE.

THERE CANNOT BE A HALF-WAY APPROACH TO SECURITY. IT IS THE SINGLE ISSUE WHICH HAS DISTURBED ME MOST SINCE BECOMING DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, BECAUSE IT IS A PROBLEM WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT AND HAVE NOT.

IN CONCLUSION THEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, A NEW MODEL FOR AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE IS EMERGING. IT IS A DISTINCTLY AMERICAN MODEL REFLECTING THE ATTITUDES, CULTURE, AND NEEDS OF THE UNITED STATES. WITHIN ITS FRAME WORK WE ARE EARNESTLY STRIVING TO REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF SECRECY TO A MINIMUM. NONETHELESS, WE MUST ALL RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS EXIST SOME SENSITIVE INFORMATION IN THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT WHICH MUST BE PROTECTED. SOMETIMES THIS PROTECTION SIMPLY PERMITS STAFF PERSONNEL THE FREEDOM TO PROVIDE THEIR VIEWS AND IDEAS TO THEIR SENIORS IN CONFIDENCE; SOMETIMES IT PERMITS US TO DEAL WITH NATIONS WHICH WOULD NOT SPEAK WITH US IF WE COULD NOT ASSURE THEM OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THEIR THOUGHTS; SOMETIMES IT CONCEALS OUR MILITARY CAPABILITIES OR INTENTIONS.

SECRECY OF ITSELF IS NOT BAD AND MECHANISMS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED TO PREVENT THE CLOAK OF SECRECY FROM BEING USED BY INDIVIDUALS TO MASK ILLEGAL, UNETHICAL, OR IMMORAL ACTIONS. WE HAVE, FOR INSTANCE AN INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD. IN

ADDITION, THE U.S. SENATE HAS CREATED AN OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE FOR INTELLIGENCE; AND WITHIN THE PAST MONTH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS FOLLOWED SUIT. I BELIEVE THESE MECHANISMS ARE WORKING WELL.

BECAUSE OF THE INTENSE INTEREST IN CONGRESS IN OVERSEEING INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES; BECAUSE OF THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF THE PRESIDENT AND OF THE VICE PRESIDENT; AND BECAUSE OF THE INCREASED SENSITIVITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ITSELF TO ISSUES OF LEGALITY, MORALITY AND ETHICS, HEIGHTENED OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS OF INVESTIGATION AND CRITICISM, YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS DOING THE JOB THAT IT WAS CREATED TO DO, DOING IT COMPETENTLY, AND DOING NOTHING ELSE.

AT THE SAME TIME, YOU PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN NATIONAL SECURITY. IF YOU PERSONALLY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SAFEGUARDING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, YOU MUST HELP US TO DO BETTER. IF YOU ARE SIMPLY AN OBSERVER OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY SCENE, YOU MUST HELP US TO CREATE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT PRESERVING SECRETS IS NECESSARY AND GOOD, EVEN WITHIN AN OPEN AMERICAN MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE. WITH SUCH UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT WE CAN TOGETHER, FORGE AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND WORLD EVENTS AND TO CONTRIBUTE MEANINGFULLY TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS BEFORE THEY REACH THE LEVEL OF CONFLICT. IT IS CERTAINLY AN OBJECTIVE WORTH OUR BEST EFFORTS.

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TO SLOW IN THE EARLY 1980'S FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. ONE IS
THAT THERE WILL BE AN INEVITABLE SHARP DROP IN THE RATE OF GROWTH
OF THE SOVIET LABOR FORCE IN THE 1980'S. THIS WILL BE CAUSED BY A

MARKED DECLINE IN BIRTH RATES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE 1960'S/
AND BECAUSE THE LARGEST ADDITIONS TO THE ^{SOVIET} LABOR FORCE WILL COME
FROM ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA WHO DO NOT MIGRATE
READILY TO INDUSTRIAL AREAS.

ALSO, ADDITIONS OF CAPITAL WILL BE REDUCED BECAUSE RAW
MATERIALS WILL BECOME MORE EXPENSIVE; AND THERE IS A LOOMING OIL
SHORTAGE AS PREDICTED IN OUR STUDY OF SOVIET ENERGY PROSPECTS.
THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES ACKNOWLEDGE THESE FACTORS IN THEIR FIVE
YEAR PLAN, BUT THEY ALSO PREDICT THAT THEIR TOTAL PRODUCTIVITY
WILL GO UP. HISTORICALLY THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO KEEP
PRODUCTIVITY MOVING UP, EVEN IN THE FACE OF INEFFICIENT CENTRAL
MANAGEMENT AND FAULTY ECONOMIC THEORY, BUT THEY HAVE DONE SO ONLY
BY PUMPING IN MORE AND MORE LABOR AND CAPITAL. WE BELIEVE THAT
THEY HAVE REACHED THE END OF THE LINE.

AS WE SEE IT, THE SOVIETS MUST FACE THE THREAT OF A DECLINING
^{RATE OF} GROWTH ~~RATE~~ OR THE NECESSITY OF UNDERTAKING WHAT MAY BE DIFFICULT
CORRECTIVE MEASURES.

CAN THEY CONTINUE TO EXPORT OIL TO THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN

SATELLITES/ OR WILL THEY NEED TO SEND IT ELSEWHERE TO EARN
HARD CURRENCY?

IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC DECLINE/ WILL THEY TURN TO US AND
OTHERS IN THE WEST FOR EXTENSIVE CREDITS?/

WILL THEY CONTINUE TO CONSUME OIL AT THE SAME RATE,/ OR
WILL THEY HAVE TO TURN TO A VIGOROUS CONSERVATION PROGRAM?/

CAN THEY MEET THE INCREASING MANPOWER NEEDS OF THEIR
INDUSTRY/ AND STILL MAINTAIN THEIR HUGE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT?/

THESE ARE ONLY SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR FINDINGS./
IT IS MY HOPE THAT THIS STUDY WILL CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER
PERSPECTIVE/ TO INFORMED PUBLIC DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE/ AND, AT THE
SAME TIME,/ ENGAGE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH ITS INTELLIGENCE
COMMUNITY.///

THUS FAR I HAVE SPOKEN OF ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN:/
OPENNESS./ THE OTHER SIDE: SECRECY, IS IMPORTANT TOO./ THE
BRITISH, AFTER ALL, ARE NOT JUST BEING TRADITIONAL/ WHEN IT
COMES TO SECRECY./ AND THE AMERICAN MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE CAN
NOT AND WILL NOT BE A COMPLETELY OPEN ONE./ AN ESSENTIAL
INGREDIENT OF INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS/ IS THE ABILITY TO PRESERVE

SECRETS. / SOME OF THE INFORMATION BEHIND BOTH THE SOVIET OIL
AND ECONOMIC FORECASTS / WAS DERIVED FROM SECRET SOURCES WHICH
WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED IN THE FUTURE / WERE WE TO REVEAL THEM. /

WHEN NATIONS ARE AS CLOSELY BALANCED IN POWER / AS THE UNITED
STATES AND ^{THE} SOVIET ^{UNION} RUSSIA, / SECRECY ITSELF CONFERS ADVANTAGES /
~~WHICH MORE MISSILES OR PLANES OR SHIPS WOULD NOT PROVIDE.~~ / THE
DOUBT IN AN ADVERSARY'S MIND IS A POWERFUL DETERRENT. /

FOR EXAMPLE, / WE WOULD BE AT A TREMENDOUS DISADVANTAGE
IN NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS / IF THE SOVIET
UNION KNEW OUR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS IN ADVANCE, / ANYONE WHO
UNDERSTANDS BUSINESS COMPETITION, / SUCH AS THE DEVELOPMENT AND
MARKETING OF NEW PRODUCTS, / CAN UNDERSTAND THIS - THE GAME IS
ACQUIRING AND HOLDING AN ADVANTAGE, / AS LONG AS THE WORLD IS
COMPETITIVE, / OPPONENTS WILL ENDEAVOR TO KEEP EACH OTHER IN
THE DARK, / IF WE CAN NOT SHROUD OUR TRUE SECRETS, / WE WILL
FIND OURSELVES AT A SEVERE DISADVANTAGE. /

IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, OUR EDGE OF ADVANTAGE IS NOT GREAT, ^{AND} ~~THAT ADVANTAGE~~ ^{IF} COULD BE NEGATED VERY EASILY ~~WITH~~ THE WRONG INFORMATION ^{FALL} ~~FALLING~~ INTO THE HANDS OF POTENTIAL ENEMIES.

^{FIELD} ~~IN~~ THE BUSINESS ^{IT} OF INTELLIGENCE IS THE SAME, AS WE RELY MORE ON TECHNOLOGY TO HELP US LEARN WHAT IS HAPPENING WORLD-WIDE, DEVELOPING AND DEPLOYING NEW ^{INTELLIGENCE} ~~SYSTEMS~~ BECOMES INCREASINGLY EXPENSIVE. THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IS LARGELY DEPENDENT ON OUR ADVERSARIES BEING UNAWARE - OR NOT FULLY AWARE ^{OF} OF OUR CAPABILITIES, ^{AND} THEREFORE UNABLE TO ADEQUATELY COUNTER OUR INITIATIVES.

BUT WE DO NOT HAVE AN OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT AND IT IS CLEAR THAT SUCH AN ACT IS OUT OF THE QUESTION IN OUR COUNTRY. THEREFORE, WE MUST DISCIPLINE OURSELVES IN OTHER WAYS TO PROTECT VITAL INFORMATION. I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST APPROACH THIS FROM TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS AT ONCE.

ON THE ONE HAND WE CAN DECLASSIFY EVERY BIT OF INFORMATION WHICH NEED NOT BE KEPT SECRET. / I HAVE MENTIONED A NUMBER OF OUR EFFORTS IN THAT DIRECTION. / BY SUCH DECLASSIFICATION, OR RESTRAINTS ON INITIAL CLASSIFICATION / WE CAN GENERATE GREATER RESPECT FOR THE INFORMATION WHICH MUST REMAIN SECRET. /

ON THE OTHER HAND / WE CAN AND MUST TIGHTEN SECURITY AROUND THE TRULY SENSITIVE INFORMATION / ON WHICH MUCH MAY DEPEND. / TODAY THERE ARE FAR TOO MANY LEAKS / FROM WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF. / I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE GIVING THIS INTENSE ATTENTION IN WASHINGTON. / STOPPING LEAKS IS NEVER AN EASY PROBLEM. / IT CAN DEMAND INORDINATE AMOUNTS OF EFFORT / AND IT CAN CIRCUMSCRIBE THE DESIRABLE FLOW OF INFORMATION / WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY. / BY A COMBINATION OF THREAT AND PERSUASION / WE MUST PREVENT THESE LEAKS BEFORE THEY OCCUR. /

I AM ALSO VERY TROUBLED TODAY BY A DIFFERENT SECURITY PROBLEM WHICH IS OF MORE DIRECT CONCERN TO YOU WHO LIVE HERE IN ONE OF OUR GREAT CENTERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS. THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING HIGH STANDARDS OF SECURITY WITHIN INDUSTRY WERE DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATED RIGHT HERE IN LOS ANGELES JUST A FEW MONTHS AGO.

TWO YOUNG MEN, CHRISTOPHER BOYCE, AND A FRIEND ANDREW LEE SUCCEEDED IN STEALING AND THEN PASSING TO THE SOVIET UNION HUNDREDS OF CLASSIFIED ITEMS FROM A CONTRACTOR'S PLANT. THEY HAVE DONE SIGNIFICANT AND, IN SOME RESPECTS, IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE EFFORT. THE DOLLAR COST OF THEIR ACTIONS IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS BUT IT HAS ~~COST~~ ^{WASTED TAX DOLLARS FROM} EVERYONE OF US HERE ~~TAX DOLLARS~~. THESE IRRESPONSIBLE YOUNG MEN, WHOM THE JUDGE WHO SENTENCED THEM TERMED TRAITORS, HAVE GONE FAR TOWARD COMPROMISING MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR TECHNICAL SYSTEMS.

THERE WILL ALWAYS BE PEOPLE LIKE BOYCE AND LEE WHO CONDUCT PURE ESPIONAGE FOR FINANCIAL GAIN OR MISDIRECTED IDEOLOGY; HOWEVER, WE MUST DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO REDUCE THE TEMPTATION AND THE

OPPORTUNITY FOR THEM TO GAIN ACCESS TO SENSITIVE INFORMATION.

I AM DISTRESSED TO REPORT THAT THERE IS GOOD EVIDENCE THAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY IS NOT ADEQUATELY FULFILLING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS AREA. FOR INSTANCE, IN RECENT WEEKS I HAVE HAD SURPRISE SECURITY INSPECTIONS CONDUCTED ON SEVERAL MAJOR CONTRACTORS WHO ARE WORKING ON SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE CONTRACTS. THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN VERY DISCOURAGING, PERHAPS APPALLING. IT IS NOT JUST THAT VIOLATIONS OF ESTABLISHED SECURITY PROCEDURES ARE RAMPANT, BUT THAT THE NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS INDICATES AN ATTITUDE OF INDIFFERENCE OR AT LEAST CASUALNESS ON THE PART OF CONTRACTOR MANAGEMENT. THIS EXPOSES US TO POTENTIALLY SERIOUS COMPROMISE OF NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION, AS WITH BOYCE AND LEE. I FEEL OBLIGED TO TAKE STRONG ACTION HERE AS WELL AS IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR. FOR SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WITH INDUSTRY ARE INDEED JOINT INDUSTRY-GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS.

SURPRISE INSPECTIONS OF SECURITY PROCEDURES WILL BE CONDUCTED MORE FREQUENTLY. WHEN RESULTS ARE UNSATISFACTORY WE WILL CONSIDER ALL COURSES OF ACTION WHICH MAY BE OPEN TO US, INCLUDING THE

LIFTING OF SECURITY CLEARANCES FROM BOTH INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
~~THEMSELVES~~ / AND/OR INDIVIDUALS IN THEM / UNTIL THERE IS EVIDENCE
OF CHANGED ATTITUDES AS WELL AS PROCEDURES. / ~~EVEN IF THIS MAY~~ *SUCH STEPS MAY*
AT TIMES BRING IMPORTANT WORK TO A HALT. *WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS*
BEYOND THAT, A COMPANY'S SECURITY RECORD / AND OVERALL
ATTITUDE TOWARDS SECURITY / WILL PLAY A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE IN
THE AWARDING OF INTELLIGENCE CONTRACTS IN THE FUTURE. /

THERE CANNOT BE A HALF-WAY APPROACH TO SECURITY / IT IS THE
SINGLE ISSUE WHICH HAS DISTURBED ME MOST / SINCE BECOMING DIRECTOR
OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, / BECAUSE IT IS A PROBLEM WE CAN DO SOMETHING
ABOUT AND HAVE NOT. /

AMERICAN IN CONCLUSION THEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, / A NEW MODEL FOR
INTELLIGENCE IS EMERGING / IT IS A DISTINCTLY AMERICAN MODEL /
REFLECTING THE ATTITUDES, *CULTURE* ~~MORES~~, AND NEEDS OF THE UNITED STATES. /
WITHIN ITS FRAME WORK WE ARE EARNESTLY STRIVING TO REDUCE THE
AMOUNT OF SECRECY / TO A MINIMUM. / NONETHELESS, WE MUST ALL
RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS EXIST / SOME SENSITIVE INFORMATION
IN THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT / WHICH MUST BE PROTECTED. / SOMETIMES

THIS PROTECTION SIMPLY PERMITS STAFF PERSONNEL THE FREEDOM TO
PROVIDE THEIR VIEWS AND IDEAS TO THEIR SENIORS IN CONFIDENCE;
SOMETIMES IT PERMITS US TO DEAL WITH NATIONS WHICH WOULD NOT SPEAK
WITH US IF WE COULD NOT ASSURE THEM OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF
THEIR THOUGHTS; SOMETIMES IT CONCEALS OUR MILITARY CAPABILITIES OR
INTENTIONS.

SECRECY OF ITSELF IS NOT BAD AND MECHANISMS HAVE BEEN
STRENGTHENED TO PREVENT THE CLOAK OF SECRECY FROM BEING USED BY
INDIVIDUALS TO MASK ILLEGAL, UNETHICAL, OR IMMORAL ACTIONS. WE
HAVE, FOR INSTANCE AN INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD. IN ADDITION,
~~WITHIN THE PAST YEAR~~ THE U.S. SENATE HAS CREATED AN OVERSIGHT
COMMITTEE FOR INTELLIGENCE; AND WITH^N THE PAST MONTH THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS FOLLOWED SUIT. I BELIEVE THESE MECHANISMS
ARE WORKING WELL.

BECAUSE OF THE INTENSE INTEREST IN CONGRESS IN OVERSEEING
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES; BECAUSE OF THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF THE
PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, ^{OF THE} AND BECAUSE OF THE ^{INCREASED} SENSITIVITY OF THE

INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, TO THE ISSUES OF LEGALITY, MORALITY AND ETHICS, HEIGHTENED OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS OF INVESTIGATION AND CRITICISM, YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS DOING THE JOB THAT IT WAS CREATED TO DO, DOING IT COMPETENTLY, AND DOING NOTHING ELSE.

AT THE SAME TIME, YOU ^{play} AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN NATIONAL SECURITY. IF YOU PERSONALLY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SAFEGUARDING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, YOU MUST HELP US TO DO BETTER. IF YOU ARE SIMPLY AN OBSERVER OF THE NATIONAL ^{Security} SCENE, YOU MUST HELP US TO CREATE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT PRESERVING SECRETS IS NECESSARY AND GOOD, EVEN WITHIN AN OPEN AMERICAN MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE. WITH SUCH UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT WE CAN TOGETHER, FORGE AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND WORLD EVENTS AND TO CONTRIBUTE MEANINGFULLY TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS BEFORE THEY REACH THE LEVEL OF CONFLICT. IT IS CERTAINLY AN OBJECTIVE WORTH OUR BEST EFFORTS.